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Further material awaiting publication includes studies of string figures, myths, stories and chants, and the life of children. A dictionary of the Pukapukan dialect and a study of Pukapukan anthropometry are in preparation.

INTRODUCTION

We spent about seven and a half months on Pukapuka, from November 3, 1934, to June 13, 1935. For six months of this time we lived in a coral lime house in the middle of Yato village. During the copra-making period we lived for six weeks in a native house in the settlement of Ngake village on Motu Ko.

Everyone on the island was interested in our work and willing to help. Genealogies and traditional history were recorded at formal sessions in ethnology carried on in the schoolhouse and later in the courthouse; as many as 50 men attended these sessions. One man acted as spokesman. He was interrupted frequently by those who thought he had made a slight error, and many fierce arguments were conducted between upholders of conflicting views before a compromise was reached and the discussion could proceed. More select were later sessions in the courthouse, usually attended by about five of the best informants. The systematic consideration of each phase of Pukapukan culture was taken up in these more intimate sessions. Principal informants were: Veti and Mitimoa, both over 65 years old; Eliu and Pau, both about 50 years old; and Talainga, about 40 years old. Pau was undoubtedly the scholar of this group. Though comparatively young, he was a keen student of things Pukapukan, equally well informed on all aspects of the culture. Veti and Mitimoa were well informed in their own right but functioned more as consulting authorities than as original informants. The youngest of the group, Talainga, made up for disadvantages of age by keenness and conscientiousness. At our suggestion he wrote several notebooks full of old chants and stories which are models of Pukapukan prose and verse. Eliu was a reliable and willing informant. His wife, Molingi, about 33 years old, was a most capable and enthusiastic informant on the women's aspects of Pukapukan life. The high chief, Nawaui, whose great age—about 100 years—rendered his memory unreliable, was unfortunately not a very valuable informant.

Our arrival on the island and our stated purpose to study the life of the Pukapukan people with reference to the ways and customs of pre-missionary times created something of a sensation. The process of rethinking themselves, under our stimulus, back into past times and of recapturing past customs was necessarily a slow one, but, once started, informants went ahead with enthusiasm and interest. At first their memories were somewhat haphazard and vague, but after several months of inter-group discussions and revival of old chants, informants were able to speak with increasing assurance about old-time practices.

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more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

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This was a return for courtesies rendered to Ngake men by the other villages, particularly deep-sea fishing privileges off the western reefs of Yato.

That the reserves are well guarded is evident from two incidents:

In walks over the island with Yato informants, amazement was always expressed in their faces when I casually proposed taking a short cut to our objective across the reserve of Loto. Even though I thought that my presence was sufficient evidence that my informants were not likely to steal nuts or talo from the reserve, informants never set foot on the reserve without finding the nearest guards and informing them that their visit to the reserve was in my company only, and not for illegal purposes.

On one occasion we were taken to Motu Ko in a Yato canoe. The Yato men took the opportunity to inspect the reserve thoroughly before going on to Motu Kotawa. This was the first time that some of them had set foot on Motu Ko. Ngake friends were continually urging us to pay a visit to Motu Kotawa that they might visit Yato's reserve as canoe crew. When we finally went to Motu Kotawa, Ngake men launched the largest canoe available, and there was keen competition for the privilege of being one of the crew. Even old men, almost incapacitated through age, made a point of being fictitious crew members on this day, and during our few hours' visit on the islet, the Ngake men inspected every nook and cranny of the reserve, appraising the amount of nuts on the trees and the number of roosting birds with critical eyes. The results of the survey proved a topic of excited conversation for many days thereafter.

The villages have retained exclusive control over village reserve lands throughout Pukapukan history. At one period, however, in the reigns of the two chiefs after the seismic wave, the system of village control was temporarily in abeyance. In order to prevent widespread stealing, the law of *pule pae* was decreed whereby the guards had the power to kill by strangulation or drowning anyone caught stealing food from the reserves. Though centralized in one locality at this time, the villages still retained separate identities. Each village unit furnished a guard for the reserves. According to the severity or laxity by which these guard units enforced the law they were named: Te Pule-Wala-o-Yila-Wua (Pandanus-that-glitters-only), the guard of Ngake; Te Pule Tuli (the Tuli bird guard, or the guard that chases), the guard of Loto; Te Pule-Wala-Mangeo (the Guard-of-bitter-pandanus), the guard of Yato.

The guard of Ngake was kind-hearted because the people of Ngake had opposed the passage of the law of *pule pae;* this guard allowed thieves to escape from the reserve, thus earning the name of pandanus that glitters only but does not sting or catch people with the thorns of the leaves. The guard of Loto carried out the letter of the law, and allowed none to escape; they caught people as the *tuli* bird is caught in a trap. The guard of Yato was also strict, so they were named after pandanus that catches people with the thorns of the leaves. It is said that if the Ngake guard saw a man tarrying at the boundaries of the reserve, they told him to hurry inside, take what food he could, and hurry away while they turned their backs on the infraction of the law; that the Yato guard killed law breakers at once, and that the Loto guard killed them on the next day.

Besides accounting for the law breakers, the guard collected nuts and fished for food to divide among all the people. This was done by the guards stationed on Wale, on Motu Ko, and on Motu Kotawa. Other members went through the village each day to see that everyone was accounted for. Those missing had to prove that they were

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Te malu, te malu, te malu	The weak (one, "softy"), the weak, the weak,
Te wewei, te wewei, te wewei,	The lazy man, the lazy, the lazy,
Tuku loa ki te vananga	Given (out his name) in the report (of the guard)
Puke atu emuenu pe te poi[6]	Overtaken (by laziness) squashy like pudding,
E koa yinga wua ia.	Flops down completely.

Fishing

General Features

Information on fish and Pukapukan fishing methods was obtained mainly from Veti and Eliu. It has been supplemented by general observation of some of the fishing techniques described. The material is not only interesting to the student of comparative Polynesian fishing methods, but it also gives an insight into the amount of control exercised by the Pukapukan fisherman over part of his environment. This control is much more complete than the following information suggests, because the actual amount of information collected represents a mere surface-scratching of the knowledge possessed by native fishermen. Two other limitations, imposed by lack of time and by comparative ignorance of the field worker in all that concerns fishing, conspired to prevent the collection of complete data on Pukapukan fishing. The classifications adopted in the following sections are those used by informants in presenting the material. Identifications of native fish names are given elsewhere (pp. 27-31).

The waters within and without the reef are used equally in fishing. The inner waters of the lagoon are combed over and over again each day by all the methods of lagoon fishing. Deep-sea fishing outside the reef is indulged in at least twice a week, depending on the amount of other work to do, the state of the sea, the winds and the weather, and the season of the year. Deep-sea fishing is relatively poor from November to March. In former days the amount of lagoon and outside reef fishing a man did depended also on the village to which he belonged. The division of reefs and lagoon among the three villages and the exclusive control exerted over these properties meant that the men of Ngake and Yato could fish more extensively than the men of Loto.

The habits and movements of all the fish were studied and correlated with the rising and setting of certain named stars (p. 350). All parts of the reef, inside and outside, as well as the lagoon deeps and shallows, are well known in terms of fish habits. Names for sections of the reef and for the parts of the ocean immediately outside the reef are given in figure 3.

[6] The chants are modern, hence the use of the Tahitian *pūai* for pig (first song) and *poi* for pudding (second song).